/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation
[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2)).
[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for
[142] them (48).

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/116 cont./

*101 [438] and receiving in exchange manioc flour, sieves, aturás /large baskets carried on the back/ or baskets, balls of tucum, and canoes" (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, 7).

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informants: Amélia Veiga (30 years old in 1956, from the subdivision Yugõ-põná) and Ana Cabral (22 years old, Depótino), both from Floresta (river Tiquié); Justina Pires (from Embaúba, river Uaupés), and Judite Monteiro (from Matapí, Tiquié):

1st. -- Boré-ka-põná ánikma (aracú /a fish/) (49),

49. Bore-ka-põná means "son of the aracú." "Ánikma" is a demonstrative that they employ frequently and means these, they. We transcribed it in order to remain faithful to the designation and pronunciation of our informants.

on the river Papurí; they are the "Mamí"

2nd. -- Bũgyẽri põná (old), in Tucunaré (Papurí)

3rd. -- Sumyẽri põna (a sour fruit), on the Macú-igarapé (Papurí)

4th. -- Poyẽri põná (a fruit similar to the abio /Sapotaceae/), on the river Uaupés

5th. -- Depótino põná (an ant), in Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)

6th. -- Yugõ põná (hiccup), in Trovão (Uaupés) and Floresta (Tiquié).

7th. -- Sipeáninã ánikma (a bird), in Umarí-igarapé (Tiquié)

8th. -- Anafieri põna or aganĩgãnĩ põná (foot of inambú /bird/), on the river Papurí

9th. -- Yexsé põná (wild pig), on the river Castanho (trib. of the Tiquié)

10th. -- Toá pianã (iúa pixuna, fruit), in Iraití (Tiquié)

11th. -- Waxsúpo põná (cunurí /tree/), in Turí-igarapé (Papurí)

12th. -- Yú põná (an insect ?), in Floresta (Tiquié)

13th. -- Yeborẽna ánikma (bone?), in S. João (Tiquié)

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present [438] [291] [285] to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

177 His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they de-
829 nominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. [342] And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the [291] construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

• [438]

Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

[797]

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
• [438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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There never were coins (77)

> 77. We have seen the children playing with flat and roundish beans, like chips or coins, and these children say that they are their coins. A large number of them nowadays know what a coin is. Perhaps calling such beans coins comes from the shape that they exhibit. It is nevertheless possible that the old ones used these beans as units to facilitate their calculations (see counting with the fingers, VII-2, b).

for the carrying out of their trade. Formerly, as well as nowadays, trade has taken place "in kind," that is, the exchange of one object for another. There has come to be stressed in modern times among the Indians, because of the relations with the civilized, the concept of an intrinsic value of the objects, not only because of their rarity, but also because of the laboriousness of their manufacture and the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. Nevertheless, still today, and much more intensely than formerly, they consider only the appreciative value, that is, the value depending upon the desire or the necessity for an object. It is easy to understand that, with one tribe being the exclusive producer of some objects, and another tribe, of others, it was not difficult to reach an agreement.

438 There is no information concerning the existence of intra or extra-tribal markets, that is, places for the display of the products intended for trade. The Indian formerly, as he still does today, under the necessity for an object, would undertake a trip (and they were always very much rovers, even seeming reminiscent of an ancestral nomadism) to the povoados of another tribe,

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taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

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In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãx-tí, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same [438] for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any pictorial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular. [825]

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first [53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrá, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano [825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari.

PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.